2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many •[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each 226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the [435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re- [178] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming [461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the 227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread. • [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.

227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by 286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular [462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are [461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty- [435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the [824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in 227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbô de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[29]

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The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilú*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-cótó*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

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[29] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

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the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 784 [565] In the lower-class world health and morality are in many cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

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[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and *sangue nova*, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the persistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical counterpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the "evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[33] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[34] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[33] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[34] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 260]

[SALVADOR] !

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

•[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,